





Other Contenders power bases….

They did build up power bases as stalin …they all made the mistake of underestimating him.



**Trotsky**

Red army and younger members of the party, especially students.

**and**

**Kamenev and Zinoviev**

Zinoviev had a power base in Leningrad and **Kamenev** one in **Moscow**. Both cities were well represented at the party Congresses. Leningrad has always been a key city for the Bolsheviks. Zinoviev believed, erroneously, that his firm organizational base there made him too strong for Stalin.



**Bukharin**

He has some support in Moscow after Kamenev was defeated and he appealed to the youth of the party. But his main strength lay in his popularity and reputation as an outstanding theorist.

**Three key issues affecting the power struggle**

1. **LEADERSHIP**

Single person (danger of dictatorship) ?

(

Collective?

1. **NEP**

Keep going?

End now?

1. **PARTY POLICY ABOUT DIRECTION OF REVOLUTION**

Socialist in One country?

Permanent Revolution?

Stress the role of individuals

* Just a struggle for power between personalities?

So…

* Our genuine differences over political + policy?

Structuaralists

* Was the rivalry due to the policy disagreements or just personal ambition

*\*Remember:*

*Stalin has control of the party + skills outmonoeurve rivals but also popular support.*

Soviet Historians

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How did Stalin build up a power base?

All his positions = ENORMOUS AMOUNT

OF POWER

**Party Secretary:-**

* Gave him control to some extent- of the businesses in the Politburo. i.e..**drawing agendas and papers for the Politburo meetings- gave him control over what was discussed and what info other member s received.**

**Control of Party Membership:-**

* Allowed him to get rid of more radical elements- students and soldiers- who were like to support Trotsky.
* He supervised the ‘Lenin **Enrolment’ of 1924 and 1925 where the party almost doubled to a million members…**the members were young urban workers poorly educated ex-peasants who were not interested in ideological debate and were likely to what their local party organized told them to do …… **so Stalins practical policies based on nationalism appealed to them.**

**Control of Party Organisation:-**

- He could influence the selection of delegates who were sent to the annual party congress- where major issues were decided – and central committee chosen.

- He could pack the congresses with his supporters **e.g Hostile reception Trotsky received at conferences from 1924 + no. of delegates who voted stalins way.**

-His ability to deliver votes in the congress- made him a valuable ally – **i.e why Zinoviev and Kamenev sought to his support.**

**Positions in the Orgburo and Secretariat:-**

* Gave him control of appointments to positions of responsibily
* He could put his supporters in key positions…i.e the party secretaries from regional to local party level were increasing Stalins men:----- **party secretaries of regions like the Ukraine were very powerful and at lower levels could virtually decide how party members voted**